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on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui no maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *ngaluenga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their talo and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, perhaps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable, and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general descriptive terms, *tangata mauutu* or *tangata tau waiva*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

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591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*uakatane, uakamomoe*), a young man or woman may change (*wilo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and 613 join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he 884 wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join [578] the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wilo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localization of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast. 132 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept 626 humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island com- 358 munity. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *uua* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub- 616 lineages each of which is called a *hoinanga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *uua* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *uua* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to 613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Uua* means 616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal 124 social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a 773 cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

The origin of the *uua* was discussed with informants on several different

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has difficulty in obtaining a woman's favor: "Wano koe ki Nuku-namutole" (Go you to Nuku-namutole). Children at play sometimes fashion little make-believe canoes of coconut leaflets which they call *vaka o Welei* (canoes of Welei). The legend of a far-away island inhabited only by women recalls a similar legend reported from both Sikaiana and San Cristoval.

The voyage of Yawau indicates the intense power of the weapon of ridicule in a small community and the manner in which its unsparing use can drive a man to the most desperate straits. Yawau was a priest of Yamaunga lineage. As the result of a fishing contest, the lineage was able to present Yawau with a large portion of *Ruvettus* fish. Yawau ate heartily of this fish, but later when chanting to his god in the god house, the people noticed that he had defecated on the priest's seat. Yawau became ashamed of his mishap, especially as the children were wont to tease him about it. He fitted out a canoe and sailed away, seeking for a land where the people had not heard of his shame. But the people of Tokelau, of Samoa, of Fiji, and of many other islands welcomed him with ridicule and it was only after reaching the land called Kapiti-te-wua that Yawau was able to find a haven where he could settle down and live forever.

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The journey of Wue, eighth chief of Pukapuka, made to the islands to the east and west of Pukapuka resulted in the introduction of many games with which the Pukapukans were not previously familiar. The account is a long one, telling of the adventures of Wue, his two sons, and his crew of Loto men at each of the islands visited.

By asserting that anything new he saw was a child's trick of no consequence in Pukapuka, Wue was able to steal swings from the people of Lakawanga, jackstone shells, the idea of coconut juggling, and kicking games from other islands, *tupe* discs from Wakaiava. At only one island was Wue unsuccessful. At Motulau, the people played with a red feather which, when placed in the mouth turned the whole body a deep red color; when the feather was removed, the body turned brown again. In spite of all Wue's assumed indifference, people of Motulau valued the red feather too highly to allow him to take it and Wue could bring back to Pukapuka only a memory of the tantalizing feather. The remarks of Wue, the counter-remarks of the people of the islands he visited (all repeated the customary three times) and the tricks whereby Wue secured the things that interested him, are all considered highly amusing. The saying *Te Ngutu o Wue* (the mouth of Wue) is today applied to any one who exaggerates greatly or who obtains something from another by lies, beggary, simulation, or trickery.

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The next voyages were those of Te Nana and Yi to Tonga, Niue, and Yayako. Informants thought they occurred in the reign of the chief Maima. But as this was after the seismic wave had more than decimated the population, it seems unlikely that there would have been enough energy left for long voyages of adventure and exploration. It is probable that these voyages belong to the era of Wue, being made perhaps after this explorer had returned to Pukapuka from one of his trips with his accounts of lands to the east and to the west.

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Te Nana and Yi had each an outrigger canoe. Beyond the names mentioned in the narrative, other members of the crews are not remembered today. After leaving Pukapuka, the first landfall of the canoes was Te Motu-tuwua and Te Papakaleva. They fished in the lagoon in the middle of Te Motu-tuwua as all the other voyagers had done. They ate fish until they were satiated, which was soon, because they had no complement of taio. Then Te Vae-matua, one of Te Nana's crew, thought of the plan

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173 Tatuawa, the spirits caught hold of every cloud descending from the sky and shook it so hard that it fell to pieces. When the whirlwind came, Talitonganuku blew it away. When the rain came in squalls, Talitonganuku covered the canoe with his body and protected it from being filled and swamped. Then Talitonganuku said: "I have protected my men from every weapon of Te Alongaoa." But he had forgotten another weapon of Te Alongaoa, the sharks and fish of the sea, especially swordfish. While Talitonganuku and his spirits were fighting enemies of the air, Te Alongaoa sent his own spirits to gather all the fish and to send them round the canoe. They came to the canoe, and made the waves rough with their thrashing to and fro. The swordfish bored holes in the side of the canoe, and cut the lashing with his sword. Then Talitonganuku rushed to drive off the fish. This left the air unprotected, so Te Alongaoa gathered all the forces of the air for a final onslaught on the canoe. A tremendous storm came from every direction, and the canoe sank ever closer to the water. In spite of Talitonganuku's efforts, the swordfish cut the canoe to pieces, and speared each person on the canoe as he was thrown into the water; all were killed. Te Alongaoa was pleased that he had thus revenged his priest killed by Talitonganuku's shark.

The spirits of the dead returned to Pukapuka and told their living relatives in dreams what had befallen them. Thus is the story known today in Pukapuka. This was the last canoe that sailed from Pukapuka for many generations, because the people were afraid to venture on the ocean while the gods were fighting against each other, destroying all voyagers in their anger.

173 484 For five or six generations after this time, Pukapukan sea voyages were less frequent. Two short voyages to Samoa made after the coming of the missionaries to Pukapuka are worthy of mention:

[558] Yipouli was a Yato man, affiliated with Loto village, who was caught stealing nuts from Motu Kotawa. He was fined 10 nuts by the guard, but was so ashamed of being labeled a thief wherever he went that he gathered together a few friends and refitted his double canoe. One of the two canoes making the vessel was called Te Lava-yaunga, the other Yae-langi. The voyagers set out, sailing by the star Melemele (Antares). They reached Tutuila, and later went on to Upolu where they settled down. Yipouli often wished to return to Pukapuka, but the thought of his shame always prevented him. He died in Samoa.

A little later, in the time of Okotai, second Rarotongan missionary to Pukapuka, about 60 years ago, Okotai's son, Ue, who had lived with his father previously in Samoa, decided he would like to return there. He discussed the matter with Pukapukan young men, stressing the good times that awaited the travelers in Samoa and the surpassing beauty of the Samoan women. Ten young men decided to join Ue in the venture. Saying they wished to go on a fishing trip to the Tima reef, they borrowed a canoe from a Yato man. The name of the canoe was Te Punga-i-Witi, the name also of a large canoe in Yato village today belonging to the son of the owner of the borrowed canoe. The young men prepared the canoe with the minimum of publicity. They went to Motu Kotawa and stole a cargo of nuts. Then they set sail on a course that brought them to Tutuila. The sea on the reef where they made a landfall was not bad, but instead of searching for a reef passage they decided to wreck the canoe, jump into the water, and swim ashore. They were unaware that the sharks of Samoa, unlike those of Pukapukan waters, were man-eating sharks. Of the ten men that left the canoe nine were eaten by sharks. Only one man, Yolomili, brother of the present chief, Nawasi, managed to climb on a rock and make his way ashore when the tide went out. He was cared for by a Samoan family and stayed in Samoa till his death, too ashamed to return to Pukapuka. Opinion is that the death of the young men was punishment sent by the old gods, at the request of the owner of the canoe, for the stealing of the canoe and the violation of the tapu of the reserves.